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THE RELATIONS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
TO NATIONAL PROSPERITY

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE

SCHOOL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

5 THE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

OCTOBER 3, 1890

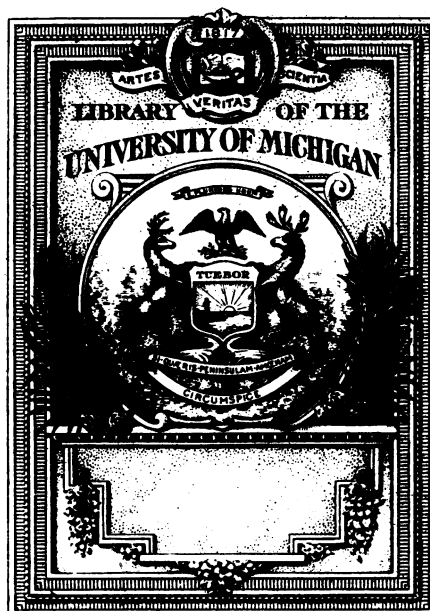
BY CHARLES FERRALL, LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

LEO A. WOOD

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1891







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# THE RELATIONS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE TO NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

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## AN ADDRESS.

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The most accomplished man of the seventeenth century, if not the most accomplished that ever spoke the English tongue, in the midst of the excitements aroused by Naseby and Marston Moor, turned aside from the political activities of his life to write his tractate on Education. It was in answer to what he called the "earnest entreaties and serious conjurements," of one "sent hither by some good providence from a far country, to be the occasion and incitement of great good to this island." The author began his treatise with a definition that was destined to become famous. "I call, therefore, a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war." And then, after indicating the process by which the fundamental necessities of such an education are to be acquired—including, in his opinion, the ancient and modern languages, the mathematics, and some of the sciences—he adds: "The next removal must be to the study of politics: to know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies; that they may not, in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth, be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately shown themselves, but steadfast pillars of the state."

These words of Milton, written while the party of which he was at once an ornament and a leader was struggling to lay the foundations of a popular government, express the conditions on which alone, in his opinion, a government by the people may



secure happiness, prosperity, and perpetuity. The conditions on which he insisted, it will be observed, were three in number: first, that there should be a foundation in a good general education; second, that there should be a thorough education in political affairs; and, third, that the education, thus provided for, should be in harmony with the principles of the government in which the person so educated is to live.

The full significance of the positions assumed by the great poet grows out of two very simple, but very fundamental and very important principles. These are, first, that the nature of all popular governments is determined, not so much by institutions as by popular opinion; and, second, that popular opinion is always shaped and guided by the educated classes.

But is it true that the nature of a government depends more upon popular opinion than upon institutions? Yes, and for very simple reasons. Institutions are not the product of spontaneous generation, but are made by men. They do not precede intelligence, but follow it. They are the product of thought and will; and, therefore, like all other products, are either well or ill-constructed. Not only that, but when the political machinery is once complete, it has no power to work, of itself. Like all machinery, it is dependent upon some force from without. It must be worked by men. It demands, not simply acquiescence but also participation. There is no power in a law or an institution by itself, for the reason that a law or an institution is simply a means by which human intelligence and human will are applied. And so we find that no excellence of institutions is able to enforce a law that is at variance with the dominant force in society. Accordingly, in any community whatever, if there is a general repugnance to a statute, that statute cannot be enforced except by some external power. Give the wisest laws to the North American Indians. Does any one suppose that such laws could be made operative by any other agency than a foreign force? It required a thousand years to persuade the barbarians who overran the Roman Empire to accept and enforce the laws of civilization. And the reason was simply that a shorter length of time was not enough to convert the dominant force of society to a better way of thinking.

In the second place, it is by the educated classes that public opinion is always shaped and guided. After all, it is the intelligent that determine what men think ; and, in general, as Mill has said, "it is what men think that determines how they act." The two conditions of great leadership are that the leader shall be in advance, and shall not be too far in advance. It was for the two-fold reason that the people were ready for the Reformation, and that Luther was fitted to lead the people, that they were eager to learn from him what they were to think, and how they were to act. The patriots of the seventeenth century were averse to the government of the Stuarts, but it was from such men as Coke, and Eliot, and Pym, that they got their ideas of what a government should be. The people of France in the last century knew that they were oppressed, but it was only when the thoughts of Voltaire, and Helvetius, and Rousseau were promulgated, that they saw what they were to do, and brought the lead down from the roofs and the bells from the churches for bullets and cannon. Our own forefathers had a grievance, but, after all, it was the burning words of Otis, and Henry, and Sam Adams, that converted the vague persuasions and convictions of the masses into a determined and irresistible purpose. Examples need not be multiplied ; for, a moment's thought is enough to convince us, that in every organization and in every society, whether social or religious, whether important or unimportant, the character of the organization is determined largely, if not chiefly, by the leadership of the dominant force.

We see, then, not only that Milton was right in providing for education in the affairs of state, but also that those governments are right which make similar provisions. The ethical basis of all such provisions is the general welfare of the people. It is that, and only that, which justifies the taxing of the rich for the education of the children of the poor. It was that which led the fathers, long before the Republic was established, to provide by a general system of taxes for all grades of education, from the highest to the lowest. It was that which led the people of Massachusetts to declare in the Constitution of their State that it shall be the duty of all future Legislatures to cherish all semi-

naries of learning, "and especially the University at Cambridge." It was that which led Manasseh Cutler to insist that the same generous provision should be introduced into the Ordinance of 1787, and, that it should become a fundamental law of all the Northwest, that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

It can hardly be thought singular, that, so long as absolute methods of government were unquestioned, it was not thought necessary to make public provision for political education. It was easy for a few families of wealth and position to provide for whatever education in affairs of public policy might seem to be desirable. There were indeed few, if any, reasons why the means of such an education should be extended to the masses. But with the extension of political privileges come also the extension of educational necessities. And, accordingly, just as in New England, the fathers provided for the education in all grades of those who are to have control of affairs, so in the governments of Europe, the establishment of political schools followed close upon the heels of an extension of political privileges. And thus we find that, in all civilized lands, within the past few years, as never before, schools have been springing up for the more complete education of those who are likely to take part in the affairs of state. A glance at some of the provisions in a few of the more prominent nationalities, will show that the tendency to which I refer is among the most striking educational characteristics of the times.

In Italy, the several branches of political and social science have for a considerable time held a prominent place at the universities. Accordingly, we are not surprised to see it asserted, that it is largely owing to the prominence and the excellence of the instruction in these branches of political education, that Italian affairs have been so skilfully managed during the last quarter of a century.

In France, the subjects to which I refer have come to receive a still more marked attention. Every scholar knows, that, for many years, at the University of Paris, the most brilliant and the most comprehensive instruction has been given in the philosophy

of history, in political philosophy, in comparative administration, in comparative politics, in social and sanitary science, in short, in all the several branches that go to make up a complete political education. The names of Guizot, of Janet, of Laboulaye, of Wolowski, and of Chévalier are suggestive of the most inspiring instruction that the world can give. But this is not all. The "School of Political Sciences" is devoted exclusively to instruction in the subjects suggested by its name. It has counted in its faculty many of the higher officers of state. Among them, we are told, have been three Cabinet Ministers, four members of the Institute of France, and the Vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies, besides a number of others entitled to rank among the foremost scholars of the day. What has been the result? For the mistakes of the empire the schools cannot be justly held responsible. But as soon as the crash came, and France called to her sons for help, the help of the scholars was not withheld. And the world has had an extraordinary exhibition of political ability and foresight. The skill, and the rapidity, with which the nation recovered from the disasters of 1871, have excited the admiration of all intelligent observers. And yet, no one can read the discussions of political and economic questions, as published in the French journals, without receiving conclusive evidence that it was chiefly owing to what may be called the technical skill of her statesmen, that her recuperative marvels were due. The close of their war was six years later than the close of ours; and yet long before we had gained our financial equilibrium, France was the most prosperous nation in Europe.

Let us turn next to England. Here we find that for reasons which it is unnecessary to explain political schools, as such, have not been established. But at the universities, political instruction has not only been offered, but has been given by men, some of whom have been thought worthy of high places in Parliament, in the diplomatic service, and in the Cabinet. The names of Fawcett, of Mountague Bernard, of Vernon Harcourt, and of Thorold Rogers are suggestive at once of the most efficient public service, and of the ablest university instruction. Their pupils are all about them in Parliament and in the diplomatic service. And so

it is not strange that, when the English government, at the close of our war, found itself face to face with the most difficult diplomatic problem that had confronted it for half a century, it summoned into its service the Professor of International Law at Oxford, just as not long since our own government called to its aid a University President and Professor of International Law for a kindred purpose. Meanwhile, in strictly economic affairs, the influence of university instruction has been even greater. The financial reforms of the present century in England have not only amounted to a genuine revolution, but they have caused the growth of wealth to outrun all computation. In these manifold changes it is probably no extravagance to say, that the most potent factor has been the instruction in political economy given at the universities by that long line of economists extending from Adam Smith to Thorold Rogers. There has not been a single beneficent change in which the teachings of the schools may not be more or less distinctly traced. "It is what men think that determines how they act," and therefore when the students of Adam Smith, and Ricardo, and McCulloch, and Cairnes, and Rogers, and Mill, and Fawcett found themselves in Parliament, they could not but strive to put into statutes those economic laws which had first been formulated in the sanctum of the scholar. We are not surprised, therefore, to find, that it was the group, known as "The Economists," that first began to controvert the old financial maxims and monetary measures of parliament. And when, a little later, the ground began to shake with the tread of multitudes, and the broad heavens to echo with their cries, and the government found itself standing "upon a Mohammedan bridge with chasms of revolution on every hand," then it was, that the youthful Horner, the friend and disciple of Ricardo, pointed out the way of economic relief. And from that day on, the history of England was the history of political and financial reforms.

I turn next to Germany. In a remote corner of old Prussia there is a university town that is celebrated chiefly for "Kant and sauerkraut." One of the colleagues of the great philosopher was Professor Kraus, who lectured on the subject of political economy. In 1797 he wrote: "For the last six years, and

laterly without any concealment, I have not only expounded the only true, great, noble, just, and beneficent system, but have succeeded in possessing some excellent heads with it, for instance, a certain von Schön, whom our Minister von Schrötter has sent to travel." And again he writes: "Scheffner has a perfect right to say, that the world has never yet seen a more important book than that of Adam Smith; assuredly, since the time of the New Testament, no work has had more beneficial effects than this will have, if it is more widely diffused and more deeply impressed upon the minds of all who have to do with public affairs."

In words like these, Kraus disseminated the doctrines of economic reform. What Coleridge would call the apostles of Permanency everywhere alluded to him with distrust or open scorn. Old Yorck declared that such ideas "could only be hatched in the lecture room of a professor who teaches an ill digested Adam Smith." Von Müller called him "a mere echo of Adam Smith." But, in spite of all ridicule, he continued to preach the same gospel to the day of his death. Meanwhile, the same idea had taken lodgement in a still greater mind. It was just four years after the appearance of the *Wealth of Nations* that the Freiherr von Stein began his official career. He was a thorough scholar of Adam Smith's great work, and when, after the armies of Napoleon had crushed Prussia like an eggshell, he was called to begin the work of regeneration, he summoned to his side the economist, Theodor von Schön, the very man whose youthful promise had awakened the admiration of Kraus. The result was the famous Edict of October, 1807; an edict which laid the foundation for the greatness that Prussia has since acquired. Nor are we left in doubt as to the real fatherhood of that great measure. For, Stein wrote to Vincke, that, in his financial policy, he had been guided by Adam Smith; and, Vernhagen von Ense tells us, that, while in exile at Prague, Stein attributed the financial reforms, in very large measure, to the teachings of Kraus, and the efforts of Schön.

And the course of Germany during the whole of the present century has been consistent with this auspicious beginning. There

is probably not a German university, from the highest to the lowest, that does not afford opportunity for the most thorough instruction—instruction, too, not simply in the elements of history and political economy and their cognate branches, but also in all the most advanced and difficult problems that can arise. The nature of political and private rights, the methods of constitutional and administrative law, the principles of sanitary and social science, are all taught with German comprehensiveness and German thoroughness. The names of Bluntschli, and Rau, and Wagner, and Gneist, and Roscher, and Heffter, and Holst, are enough to suggest how largely we are dependent upon them for even the text-books of our political sciences.

Moreover, not only are these studies taught in all the universities, but in several of them they are organized into more or less separate and independent schools. At Vienna, and at Tübingen, distinct faculties give their exclusive attention to the several branches of political science. And what is the beneficent result? Graduates of these schools have found their way into administrative positions of influence in all parts of Germany. On this subject we are not left to conjecture or doubt. Commissioner White, in his Report on the Educational Department of the Paris Exposition, in speaking of the Schools of Political Science in Germany, uses these words: "In conversation with leading men in southern Germany I have not found one who did not declare this and similar courses of instruction a main cause of the present efficiency in the German administration."

Now, of course, I do not overlook the objection that is sometimes raised to this method of reasoning. "What have we to do with *abroad*?" Are not our methods better than theirs? Are not our institutions better adapted to the wants of the people than theirs? Are not our people infinitely better off under our methods, than their people are under theirs? The questions are specious, and it cannot be denied that they are sometimes efficacious. But it can require only a moment's reflection to convince us that the argument lurking in them is as pernicious in its influence as it is untrue in its premises and false in its reasoning. Reduce it to a syllogism and we shall see both that its reasoning

is false, and that its premises are false. It is simply like saying that because Smith without study gets on better than Jones with study, therefore study is an evil:—a conclusion too absurd to need answer, even if the assumption that Smith is more successful than Jones is admitted to be correct. But the assumption is open to question. Certain it is, that, however superior the nature of our government as a whole to the governments of the old world, it is simply stupid folly to maintain that in every respect our ways are better than theirs. *Is* it certain that our municipal governments are better than theirs? *Are* our systems of taxation more equitably adjusted than theirs? *Do* our public and private corporations have greater respect for the rights of the people than theirs? *Can* we maintain that our legislatures are more free from corruption and bribery than theirs? *Was* our financial management at the close of our war wiser than that of France at the close of hers? If these questions can be answered in the affirmative, and without the shadow of a doubt, I concede that an argument may be built upon them in favor of what may be called intuitive methods. But to make such an answer would argue a disordered brain or a diseased imagination. Not long since a Russian exile was gazing with homesick imagination upon the soft splendors of the Bay of Naples. "See Naples and then die," said a bystander, "is the saying by which the world pays a just tribute to the beauty of this scene." "Ah! yes," responded the Russian, "I suppose it is very fine; but then, it is not Siberia."

But we may go one step further. Not only are there reasons why we should study the several branches of political science; but the reasons are more numerous and more cogent even than the reasons which lead to such studies in the old world. Two considerations will be enough to show that this statement is strictly true.

In the first place, the government, with us, rests much more entirely upon the will and the intelligence of the masses of the people. In nearly every one of the countries of Europe, there is to be found a class, accustomed by tradition to positions of honor and responsibility, and, for this very reason, living under special inducements to fit themselves for positions of political trust. The



son of a nobleman in England, whether a lord or a commoner, does not need the spur of public provision, for the reason that his very position destines him for public life, and he knows that his chances of success, when once in a position, depend upon the thoroughness of his outfit. He is therefore likely to secure that outfit, whether provision be made by the government or not. Under such circumstances, education in political affairs is sure to be more or less general, whatever may be taught in the public schools. But in a popular government there is no such powerful inducement. With us there is no governing class. The son of the lowest has the same political pathway open before him as the son of the highest. The danger is, therefore, that the substantial benefits of a thorough education will be neglected, and that reliance will be placed upon the baser arts of political manipulation.

But there is a second reason and one that is even more important. It is, that the necessity of superior education in political affairs, is nowhere so great as in a republic, and nowhere among republics is greater than in our own. The vast extent and the immeasurable resources of the country, call loudly for corresponding wisdom in management and administration. The subject almost reduces itself to this axiomatic statement:—the more extensive and the more complicated the political affairs to be administered, the greater the necessity of wisdom in the process of administration.

Now let us for a moment contemplate some of the problems that confront us, and some of the characteristics of our government. Let us look for a moment at each of its three great branches.

In our judicial system there is much to admire. Beyond all question our courts are generally free from the taint of corruption. Our federal tribunals and the supreme courts in some of our States might not shrink from comparison with any in the world. They are perhaps fully worthy of the tribute paid to them by Lord Brougham fifty years ago. But in our lower courts we certainly have not the same occasion for pride. Small salaries and short terms of office in many of our States have wrought the

evil of putting a low grade of legal talent upon the bench. The consequence is that that part of the legal business which comes nearest the masses of the people is but indifferently done. It often happens that points have to be decided in ignorance, or that questions have to be taken under advisement. Much irrelevant evidence is admitted, because, for obvious reasons, it is thought better to admit too much than too little. Thus, from hesitations and from delays, nearly all the sessions of our circuit courts are needlessly prolonged. As all the officers and jurors of the court are under pay, the expense of litigation is correspondingly increased. It is probably susceptible of demonstration, that in many of our States, if the benches of the circuit court were occupied by men with the knowledge possessed by the supreme court judges, a full half of the time occupied by the session might be saved. But even this is not all. So many errors are made that the respect due to the court is weakened, the chances of successful appeal are increased, the number of appeals is multiplied, a very considerable proportion of the causes are sent back for new trial, the business of the tribunals, both above and below, is so prolonged and augmented that the number of judges has to be increased; in short, at every turn, the cost of our judicial system is enhanced by the very means which have been taken to reduce it. England, by a long experience, has completely demonstrated that the expense of the judicature to the government and the people can be reduced to a minimum only by paying such salaries and fixing such terms of office as will secure the best legal talent for the bench. Why do we not avail ourselves of their experience? Simply because our policy is fixed by those who have no adequate knowledge of what that experience is. The reasoning is simply this: for England I care not; Germany I know not; but this I do know: a small salary costs less than a large one, and I am in favor of the least cost. And thus we go on, repeating the errors that have been repeated for centuries, and insisting upon picking our way through a wilderness of thorns and brambles, notwithstanding the road that our neighbor has surveyed and constructed and as good as put at our service. In the end we shall, of course, learn, that although a bridle-path is cheaper

than a turnpike or a railroad, it is not always a cheaper thoroughfare for transportation.

And when we turn from the judicial to the legislative branch of our government, we observe the same need of all the wisdom we can command. In an old country, methods have become fixed. Customs and traditions have assumed the importance of law. Exigencies requiring new legislation are therefore comparatively few. In Great Britain, a single legislature not only attends to all the legislative details for England, Scotland, and Ireland; but it also provides the fundamental laws for the government of a fifth of the inhabitants of the globe. But how different in a new country like our own? Everything is, as the Germans say, *im Werden*, in the process of becoming. Changes and improvements confront us everywhere. New exigencies find no traditions to which they can appeal, and so they demand new legislation. Thus it is that forty legislatures find enough to do to make and unmake the laws of the land. Thus it is that every winter some thousands of law-makers assemble at the State capitals to unravel, or to add new entanglements to the ever increasing intricacies of our statutes. This is not a matter for reproach, but is a matter of absolute necessity. However certain it may be that there is too much legislation; it is equally certain that every new country must either provide for a large amount of legislation, or must entrust a large amount of discretionary authority to an irresponsible power. It is probably inevitable that for generations to come the conditions of our country will call for the enactment of a large number of new laws. Every two years, in many of the States, every single year, the law-makers will be called upon to consider, to scrutinize, to adopt, to modify, or to sweep away, from one thousand to two thousand statutes. The bills brought before our legislators for their consideration probably amount in the aggregate to not less than twenty thousand a year.

But the view is not complete unless we consider, not simply the number, but also the importance of the questions our legislatures have to deal with. Questions in education, questions in finance, questions in sanitary science, questions as to the control of our penal and reformatory institutions, questions as to methods of

administration, as to the government of cities, as to the proper restraints to be put upon our corporations, in short, questions of every conceivable nature and of every conceivable difficulty demand consideration, and demand to be settled in the light of all the knowledge that can be gained from the experience of the world. For, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that some of the very evils are beginning to appear that played such havoc with the republics of the old world. At the centers of our population we have the same tendencies to corruption, and, consequently, the same inclination toward Cæsarism. An unscrupulous head resting for support upon the proletariat, imposing heavy taxes upon property owners under pretense of public improvements that are never made, either turning the money so raised from its legitimate uses into its own pockets, or distributing it to the multitude for the furtherance of its own power, ever pointing to the wretched conditions around it as reasons for increased taxation, and ever using the results of a larger revenue for the acquisition of a larger power—these are the ways in which the republican cities of the old world made republicanism unendurable, and finally accepted despotism as a welcome relief. And who is there that will say *we* have no reason to profit by the lessons they have taught? How, we may well ask ourselves, are we to thwart these tendencies, if not by a larger education of the public in the history of the evils of which we are apprehensive?

Of the nature of the evils in our executive service it is not my purpose to speak. That great evils exist, there is no longer any necessity of proof. They have been acknowledged by the political platforms of all parties, and by the most thinking men of all shades of political belief. The only questions now in dispute are, not concerning the necessity of reform, but concerning the methods of reform. It is enough in this connection, therefore, to say, that there is scarcely one of the larger governments of the old world that has not fought this battle through to victory, or to defeat. Some of them have blundered, some of them have failed, and some of them have come out of the darkness into the light. Thus, some have given us examples for warning, while others have

left us examples for guidance. It would be easy to show that, in some cases, by the adoption or the continuance of a bad policy, the government has been kept weak, and corruption has been prolonged; while, in others, the adoption of wise and corrective measures has resulted in thorough renovation. It is certain that the most beneficent governments in Europe to-day are those which have at once the most carefully regulated, the purest, and the most efficient civil service. And yet, whoever has read Biedermann's Germany, or Lecky's England in the Eighteenth Century, needs not to be told that it would be difficult to conceive of a civil service more corrupt than that of England, or that of Germany, a hundred years ago. During the very years whilst our service has been departing from its original purity, theirs have been undergoing such thorough renovation that at the present time their purity and their power are everywhere acknowledged. However much we may differ from them as to the fundamental nature of their governments, we cannot withhold from them our admiration of the economy and the efficiency of their administrative service. The only question that is relevant in this connection, is, whether we should grope our way blindly, as they were in great measure obliged to do, or whether, by a careful study of their failures and their successes, we ought not to profit by their examples.

Besides the three great branches of government to which I have referred, there are several other fields of activity in which great influence is exerted.

The foremost of these is in the field of the journalist. How incalculable at the present day is the influence of the newspaper! It sets up its pulpit and its school in every shop, in every club, in every saloon, in every hotel, in every railway train, and in every household. It preaches to every age, to every condition, to every shade of belief. One scarcely hesitates to say, that it exerts a more comprehensive, and a more powerful influence in moulding public opinion, for good, or for evil, than all other agencies combined.

What in the modern newspaper is most needed? Ask the first intelligent man you meet. Ask the editor in whose judg-

ment you have most confidence. I can imagine you will receive some such answer as this. We have no trouble in getting young men of energy to bring us news from all quarters of the globe. We can find men to explore the jungles of India or of Africa, to live without food or sleep, to brave every danger, and to endure every hardship, in order to send us the first word of a victory or a disaster. We can find men of infinite gift for picking up curious items, for whipping them into froth, and adding them in the way of garnishment, as a kind of sweetened nothing, to the more substantial meal. But, while our doors are besieged with men who can do these things, and do them well, there is one kind of writer that we are always in want of and can seldom find. And that is the man of quick parts, and of knowledge enough to take the news, as the lightening brings it at sundown or at midnight from all parts of the world, and to tell our readers in the morning what it means, what they are to think about it, and to do this in a manner that will at once awaken their attention, and command their confidence. If you can do that, there is a large vacancy and a large salary for you in the office of every large newspaper in the land. If you can simply use your eyes, ears, and hands, to write out what you see and hear, we can do nothing for you, for there are a hundred on the list above you.

Now such qualifications, such as every authority in journalism will tell you are needed, such as every intelligent reader feels are needed, are not qualifications that come by accident, or by intuition. They come only with the acquisition of a large amount of that kind of knowledge, which can be gained only by laborious, and long continued study. I admit that such knowledge may come, and sometimes does come, in the midst of the discouragements and the besetments of an active professional life ; but it is still true that, with here and there a brilliant exception, the chances are overwhelmingly in favor of the probability, that, if such attainments are not at least begun and well advanced under the encouragements and the inspiration of instruction, they never will be acquired at all.

There is another method of shaping public opinion in our

country of great power. I refer to the speeches that are made in our political campaigns. As our people read more newspapers, so they hear more political speaking than do the people of any other nationality. In most of the countries of Europe, there is no presidential campaign, no election of governor, no election of State legislature. In England, the political function of the voter, unless hastened by the prerogative of the crown, or the removal of a member, is discharged only once in seven years. On the continent, a similar infrequency prevails. But in the United States, elections to one office or another, crowd on with such unceasing rapidity, that the ratification speaker scarcely pronounces the benediction upon one campaign, before the prelude of the next begins to be heard.

And now let us ask the same questions that we asked of the editors. What is it that the people want in the way of speeches? I think that every sober-minded person will agree, that what they want is not abuse of opponents, but intelligent criticism of them; not political cant, but political candor; not eloquent frivolity, but earnest discussion; not the blowing of beautiful bubbles, but the careful, and critical, and thorough examination of the questions at issue. When the American people find the man that can give them that, they are ready to listen to him, to follow him, and to reward him. The hope of our country, in the last analysis, is in the belief, that, when the political questions that agitate us are exhaustively discussed before the people, the people will decide them aright. The history of the past fully justifies that hope. The heart of the people is sound. The intentions of the people are honest. If political questions are not decided aright, it is because, and only because, they have not been adequately presented. If the history of the last twenty-five years in our country teaches anything, it is that there is much greater need of good leading, than there is of good following.

It is for the purpose of aiding in the several directions that have been hinted at, and in others that would be mentioned if there were time, that the School of Political Science in the University of Michigan has been established. It finds its justification where the other schools of the University find theirs: in the good

of the people and the welfare of the State. It will teach in no dogmatic spirit, but will endeavor, with the utmost catholicity, to examine the questions that come before it, in such a way as to leave the student free to form his own opinions in the light of what seems to him the weight of evidence.

A prominent place in the school will be given to studies in history. These will include "General History"; "The History of Political Institutions"; a somewhat careful survey of "The recent Political History of Europe," a thorough study of "The Political and Constitutional History of England," and a similar study of "The Political and Constitutional History of the United States."

In Political Economy several courses will be given, with the intention of examining the subject in its different phases with all needed thoroughness. It will be the purpose of the school to teach no economic dogma; but to examine, carefully and thoroughly, all questions in dispute, in such light as history and the best economic thought of Europe and America afford.

The various subjects, which naturally group themselves under the head of Sanitary Science, will not be neglected. "The Laws of Physiological Growth and Decay"; "The Varieties and Adaptabilities of Foods"; "The Best Methods of Supplying Pure Water and Air"; "The Causes of Infectious Diseases"; "The Proper Disposal of Decomposing Matter"; "The Proper Functions of Boards of Health and Health Officers"; are some of the topics that will receive attention.

Under the head of Social Science, it will be pertinent to examine the various and intricate questions arising out of the management of our penal and reformatory, as well as of our charitable, institutions. "The Prevalence of Crime and the most efficient means of Diminishing and Preventing it"; "The Best Methods of Treating our Criminals," with a view at once to the creation of a healthful public sentiment, and, if possible, the reformation of the culprit; "The Care of the Insane, and the Management of Asylums"; "The Proper Treatment of the Poor and the Proper Superintendence of Almshouses"; "The Place and the Proper Equipment and Control of Hospitals"; are some of



the most important of the questions that our citizens have to consider and decide. Other communities have had to consider them, and it is proper that we should profit by their experience, and give them all a place in the range of our instruction.

The course in Forestry will aim to show that in other quarters of the globe the climate has been changed, and deserts have been created by the destruction or the neglect of trees; that in some instances, by a judicious planting of them, rain has been brought after a drought of a thousand years; that an indiscriminating destruction of our forests threatens to bring about climatic changes of the gravest importance; and that such changes can only be averted by judicious public provision.

A course in Political Ethics will furnish the proper basis for judging of the relations of the individual and the State, as well as of international complications.

Nearly allied to this, and crowning the whole, will be the courses on "The Idea of the State"; "The Nature of Individual, Social, and Political Rights"; "The History of Political Ideas"; "The Government of Cities"; "Theories and Methods of Taxation"; "Comparative Constitutional Law"; "Comparative Administrative Law"; "Theories of International Law"; and, "The History of Modern Diplomacy."

Such, in the briefest outline, is what it is the purpose of the school at present to teach. Additions to the corps and the courses of instruction will be added, from time to time, as the necessity is revealed.

It need scarcely be said that the courses of instruction here offered are of the nature of true university work. No part of it will properly range within what are commonly known as the disciplinary studies of the ordinary college curriculum. The character of the courses and of the methods of instruction, it is hoped, will be essentially the same as those offered and given in the Schools of Political Science at Paris, Leipsic, Tübingen and Vienna. The work, in our opinion, cannot be completed properly in less than three years.

The question is not without importance, as to the proper place of such a school in our system of education. Ought the

courses it offers to be introduced as a part of the undergraduate work? Ought they to be strictly postgraduate work? Ought they to be provided for after the completion of the required or disciplinary studies of the college curriculum?

There is something to be said in favor of an affirmative answer to each of these questions. Many of the studies offered may be pursued, with entire advantage by undergraduates. But, while this is true, it would be manifestly impossible for a student to take, in this school, all the studies he might desire in addition to the studies at present required. Some of the studies, moreover, are of the most advanced character, and for their successful prosecution, will require the breadth and strength that can only be looked for in students who have already completed their undergraduate work. The conclusion to which we are driven, is, that a thorough curriculum in political science, introduced into the undergraduate course, would usurp the place of many of those studies, which, are justly deemed of fundamental importance. The end would probably show that such a method, by curtailing the preliminary studies, had weakened the whole course.

But, cannot the studies in this new school be made strictly postgraduate? That such a requirement would have certain advantages, no one can doubt. But, the disadvantages are overwhelmingly greater. For ten years past, our students, at the time of taking the bachelor's degree, have reached an average age of more than twenty-three years. No possible inducement will persuade any considerable member of them to continue their studies much beyond that period of life. Even in the older universities, where the inducements of fellowships and of special instruction that cannot otherwise be obtained are held out, the number of students remaining, for postgraduate work, is not very encouraging. If the hope is entertained that any considerable number of students, in the West, or even in the East, can be persuaded to prolong their university studies, three or even two years after taking the first degree, unless, indeed, those studies are of a professional nature, that hope will inevitably be doomed to disappointment. Neither the spirit of the age, nor

the experience of the past justifies any such hope. If, therefore, this school were to be made strictly, postgraduate in requirements and character, it would fail of its purpose, inasmuch as its benefits would be limited to a very small number of students.

Is there any method by which these two obstacles in the way of complete success may be avoided?

The theory on which the present arrangement of studies in the University of Michigan is adjusted, is that the studies preparatory to higher university work, should be about equivalent in amount to the first two years of the college curriculum. This is the significance of what we recognize as the required studies. All the rest are intended to be of the character, not of preparatory, but of university work. Whether we are right in drawing the dividing line, with more or less definiteness, at the end of the second year, may admit of difference of opinion. There are perhaps some that will hold that the German student, at the time he enters the university, is as well qualified to pursue university studies as is our student when he enters upon the work of the senior year. On the other hand there are those who hold that our student, at the end of the freshman year, is as well prepared for such work as the German student at the time of his matriculation.\*

I do not raise the question whether the one or the other of these views is correct, or whether the truth is likely to lie between the extremes. My position is simply that this University has practically fixed the dividing line for its own students at the close of the second year.

The practical question, then, is, whether the end of the second year is not the proper time for the student to enter upon his university course of three years.

\*Such is the very positive opinion of the United States Commissioners on the subject of Education, appointed to the Paris Universal Exposition of 1878, as recorded in their Report. "As regards the preparation of young men for these courses, it is certainly not more than equivalent to that obtained in American colleges and universities of a good grade by the end of the freshman year. Having heard recitations in various departments of the German gymnasia, or preparatory colleges, I make this statement with confidence."—*Commissioner White's Report*, p. 354.

That our students are qualified at that period of their education to do the work I have no doubt. They will have had all the required mathematics, as well as all the required work in Greek and Latin, in German and French, in the natural sciences, and in English. That our students are disposed to profit as well by the enlarged liberties as by the enlarged facilities afforded by the gradual opening of university methods, I am equally certain. The increase of good order, the growing prevalence of a true scholastic atmosphere, the hearty friendliness and spirit of coöperation between teacher and student, the almost complete extinction of that old spirit of trickishness so long the bane of the American college, and the establishment of what may fairly be called a true university tone—all these in their progress have kept even pace with the multiplication of courses, and the enlargement of liberties. If there ever was any doubt, the experience of the last five years has removed that doubt completely, and we may now assert with the boldest confidence, that under equally favorable conditions our students will prosecute their studies as industriously and as successfully as the students of Germany. Why, then, at the end of the second year, should we not admit them to the same methods and the same privileges?

These are the considerations which in the main have led to the opening of the school to students that have completed the second year in this university, or in some other college or university with a curriculum substantially equivalent. We shall aim to offer courses of study that need not shrink from comparison with those offered in the Schools of Political Science in the old world. We shall give to our students the largest liberties; but we shall accompany those liberties with the responsibilities of a searching final examination. We shall endeavor to bring no reproach upon the school by giving its final degree to unworthy scholarship. In so far as we strive to imitate any, we shall strive to follow in the methods and in the spirit of what we believe to be the best universities in the world. We shall endeavor to give similar privileges, and shall try to make the final examination reveal a similar grade of scholarship. And, when we remember that not one of the students admitted to this school

